792 173 along nevertheless, and whenever you wish to walk like the thunderbirds and walk above the earth, then I can turn back. I will go along."

There were eleven who went along. When they got to the place where the Shawnee prophet was staying they found all the other tribes (represented) there except the Winnebago.

Then the prophet said, "It is good, my younger brothers." He called the Winnebago younger brothers. "There are many tribes here, but I wanted to see you here especially. It is good you have come. I want to talk to you, but it is impossible (because I can not speak your language)." Now the old man who had come along against the wishes of the chief could speak any Indian language, so the leader said to Dog-Head, "Older brother, you used to speak almost any language; can you still do it?" Then Dog-Head said, "My younger brother, I can understand what he is saying, but I don't know whether I could talk the language myself. I may or may not be able to speak it (enough to make myself understood). I don't know." Then the leader said, "It is good, older brother. Try to talk to him, and whatever you do will be better than nothing." Then Dog-Head said to the Shawnee prophet, "I can understand what you are saying, but I am afraid to talk to you because I don't know whether I could make myself clear to you." The prophet thanked him and said, "It is good. I want to talk to you Winnebago."

Then they had a long conversation and this is what he said, "Younger brothers, we are not doing the right thing and that is why we are not getting along very well in life."

792 ● 787 173 At that time they (the other tribes) were having their night dances, so the Winnebago moved over to them. There they heard the prophet speak. He said that he had been sent by the Creator because the Indians were wandering away from their old customs. For that reason the Creator had sent him to tell them of it. He at first forgot all about it, for the devil misrepresented things to him and he believed him. The devil had told him that he would go to heaven and that he could not be killed. He had told him that he had given him a holy belt. He was a bad person. Whenever he got angry he would throw his belt down on the ground and it would change into a yellow rattlesnake and rattle. When he did this the rest of the people were afraid of him. He was very mean when drunk. They were afraid of him, not only on account of his belt, which he could turn into a yellow rattlesnake, but also because of the fact that he was very strong. If, when he was drunk, a number of people jumped on him, afterwards he would find out about it and hit them. If they would resist he would kill them.

It was utterly impossible for him to be killed. He was unkind to the women. They would go with him not because they liked him

but because they were afraid of him. It was a dangerous thing to 792
say anything about him. Whenever he wished to drink he would 787
take some person's valuables and buy drink with it. These are the 173
things he did. The Creator had sent him on a mission to the earth, but the devil had misled him.

On one occasion (when he was drunk) quite a number of people jumped on him and nearly killed him. When he awoke the next morning he asked his wife who had done it and she told him. "Well, they will hear of me soon. However, I want to go and take a bath first and cool off and then take my revenge, when I get back." When he was in bathing a man came to him and said, "They have told me to come after you, so let us go." Then he went back with him and he took him to the place from which he had originally started. Then the Creator said, "How are you getting on with the work which you were to do?" Then he remembered what he had been doing. Then the Creator said, "Is it for this that I created you?" Then he took his mouth and showed it to him and he saw that it was crooked and sticking out in all directions. Then he took his understanding (and showing it to him), he said, "Did I create you thus?" Then he looked into his ears and they were crooked and ragged. Thus he made him see all his bad characteristics and his evil mind. Then he took out his heart and showed it to him. It was all furrowed up and bad to look upon. "Did I create you thus?" said the Creator. "Now, then, you will do better the next time," and he sent him back. This time, however, he (the prophet) did not come here to get revenge. He came to tell of the mysteries, but no one would believe him. "He is just getting crazier all the time," they said of him. Then he told all to gather in one place and he promised to say nothing but the truth. Then he made a small flat war club, cleared a piece of ground and laid it there. Then he said to those assembled, "If anyone can lift this, then I will not say it (i. e., talk about my mission)."

Now he (the prophet) was one of triplets. The third one was teased a good deal and one day he said, "I am getting tired of this teasing and am going home." Then he died. They had been teasing him about his head, which was very narrow. There were thus two left. The brother who was left was a powerful man. Bullets could not penetrate him, and indeed it was impossible to kill him in any way. It was this brother who had told him not to talk (about his mission). Then the prophet said to him, "Well, if you can lift this war club I will not speak about it any more." Then he tried to lift the little war club and failed. After that the brother made no more remarks about it.

Then he had them make a long lodge and they were told to go after a number of bears. As many as he told them to get, that many

792 they would bring home with them. Thus they knew that he was
787 telling the truth. All the people in the country listened to him and
173 what he prophesied came true, so they believed him holy.

One day they told him that the whites were coming. After a short time they said, "They are still coming. There are very many of them." The lookouts were always watching and they saw them coming. Then the prophet said, "When they come, listen to them, and when they sleep we will attend to them." Now the whites had come; they had to cut through the roads to come. When they were near one of their number came over to ask where they could camp and they were told to camp right there. In the night, when they were asleep, they shot at them. They were half asleep and they ran away without their weapons. A tribe of Indians was just then going down the stream and these shot at the whites, too. Then they turned back and the commander had the bugle blow and called them to themselves. Then they took their guns and fought. Many Indians were killed. The one who had led the Winnebago over was killed in this battle.

Then his son started back home. His name was Small-Snake. As they were returning, unprepared for danger, a boat came down the stream and passed very close to them. The women (he was the only man among them) cried out. He was without any ammunition except two shots. Just as he got ready to shoot they were recognized. The people in the boat were not Americans but Frenchmen and they were very hungry. Thus they were saved, and the Frenchmen gave them plenty of ammunition. Then they passed safely on.

The Indians had scattered in every direction and no one knew who was alive. Then Dog-Head blessed them with a powerful medicine that he possessed. "My son (he was addressing Small-Snake), if I were to induce you to join the Medicine Dance, why that honor would perish with your death. Now they say that a man named Large-Walker had a vision in which he was blessed by a loon. The loon blessed him, saying, 'Large-Walker, I also bless you with this (medicine). When I work for the chief and when I sweep his lodge, I sweep all the bad things outside. It will be the same with this medicine. If a person partakes of something bad, he will not die, no matter how bad it is, but, on the contrary, he will live. Now when you wish to use this medicine, pour some tobacco for me and I will smoke it.' Then he looked at the loon and the loon had something growing out of his back. That is what he was referring to. Then the loon said again, 'When you want to dig it, don't dig it right away (i. e., without performing the proper rites). You must offer a white feather, a white deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. Then you can dig it. If you make these offerings, you will never fail in anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787 ●

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 173

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [798]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [77]

742 it, for if you do, we will all die." Now, he was mistaken in that. 787 "The Creator has given two plates and they are getting empty. He gave the men a plate for them to fill and the women a plate for them to fill. The women's plate is empty." He meant that the Creator [462] had made men to hunt and the women to dig the soil and raise vegetables, and that the latter were not doing it. That is what he meant by saying that their plates were empty. Noise-Thunder insisted that this was the white man's fault; he thought that we were being weakened by the white man's food. Quite a number of people believed him. "The birds eat what was provided for them to eat, game and vegetables, and the whites eat what was provided for them. Why should we not eat what was provided for us!" He was right, but then the Creator also created the food that the whites are eating. We are now getting accustomed to it and are getting stronger on this food.

[161] The Winnebago were decreasing in number, so the Creator gave them a medicine which would enable them to get accustomed to the white man's food; that, also, they might know the Creator and that he is the true bread and food. This they found out by using this medicine. They are going into it deeper and deeper all the time, they who had been lost, and this has all been accomplished by the medicine (the peyote).

The following notes were also obtained concerning other prophets:

"There was a prophet among the Winnebago recently named George Wilkinson. He claimed that he was the Trickster; that there were two worlds; that he had been to the first and that he was now on the second. After a while he was to return to ma'una (Earthmaker). He told all the Winnebago to plant their tobacco and cornfields again. (This is what he was ordered to say.) He said that the power of the war bundles was entirely exhausted, but that it could be restored if a person were to fast for four days. When the spirits addressed him by name they called him "He-Who-Stands-Blue." This happened fifteen years ago.

"Thundercloud claims to be the Hare."

Another man named Xuga prophesied the same, led them on a warpath, and lost a lot of people.

[668] The most important religious revival of the last century among the Winnebago is the Peyote or Mescal religion. It is described in detail on page 388.

241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

241 527 782 If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 787 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 262 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

MOTHER-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW TABOO

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in 606
full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the 867
customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the 881
only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with char- 785
coal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not 787
to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula:

Waxop' inixjiwina	hina'djire naⁿdje'je	wahadjex.	[539
Spirits	am I likely to be blessed?	that is why I am praying.	782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good: but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are [776]
around then.

881 All boys do not seem to have approached the ordeal of fasting with
785 the proper religious feeling. One instance in particular showed any-
787 thing but a reverent attitude; this is so amusing that it is here
given in the exact words of the Indian:

> When I was a young boy, my folks made me fast together with a boy named Modudjeka. We were supposed to go to the hills and cry until the spirits blessed us. However, whenever we looked at each other and at our charcoal-blackened faces we could not refrain from bursting out laughing. Whenever we made up our minds to cry, something or other would induce us to look at each other and the laughing would begin all over again. When the time for our return to the house came, we didn't present the slightest indication of having cried, so we took some saliva and made long streaks on our faces.

Young girls and women are also encouraged to fast to obtain the war honors.

881 *Menstrual lodges.*—Fasting at puberty by girls was inseparably con-
785 nected with their retirement to menstrual lodges. Sometimes there
was only one girl in each menstrual lodge, sometimes there were as
many as three. From the time of her first menstrual flow to her
climacteric a woman retired to a menstrual lodge every month for
841 a few days. An excellent account of Winnebago customs in this
respect was obtained in a text from a male informant, and, although
somewhat discursive, it is given in full here:

> As soon as a woman begins to have her menstrual flow she has to retire to a menstrual lodge and to be careful never to come in contact with any sacred objects. If she did, these objects would all lose their power. Everything that is holy would immediately lose its power if a menstruating woman came near it. A holy woman or a holy man or even a holy child would be affected by the proximity of a menstruating woman. Their holy condition would immediately disappear. In a similar way, if food were served to a sick person from the same dish used for a menstruating woman the sick person would become far more sick.
>
> The food for a menstruating person is always cooked separately. Special dishes are used and special fireplaces are made.
>
> If a person possessed any medicines they would lose all their power if a men-
> struating woman came in contact with them. If any person should enter a men-
> strual lodge, in after life, whenever he fasted, he would not be blessed by any spirit.
> However, there is one thing that a menstruating woman is afraid of, and that is the
> [778] war bundle. These war bundles are kept in cedar [leaves?] mixed with medicine to
> prevent danger from just such a source. If a menstruating woman comes near a war
> bundle, her flow would increase and never cease and after a while she would die,[1]
> and only if the owner of the war bundle personally attends to her can she be cured.
> For that reason whenever a war-bundle feast is being given a woman is very careful,
> and even if it is a few days before her menstrual flow she will not go.

---

[1] This explains what puzzled the author for some time—namely, the fact that although contact with a menstruating woman destroyed the efficacy of everything holy, in the case of the war bundle the reverse was true and the woman was destroyed. Many of the Indians who spoke of this matter also seemed to believe it was the war bundle that killed the woman. From this account, however, it is perfectly clear that it is not the war bundle at all that killed the woman, but the poison in which the war bundle was wrapped. The war bundle is therefore no exception to the general rule, and it is only on account of the serious consequences that would accrue to so many people from any impairment of its powers, and the care taken to prevent this by surrounding it with special medicines, that it offers externally an exception to the fatal effects of contact with a menstruating woman.

Any man who has been specially blessed with war powers may go on the warpath. Such a man must not merely be blessed with those general war powers that individuals obtain during their puberty fast, but must likewise be blessed with a definite enemy to kill or capture, as the case may be, immediately before he starts out. In practice this meant that whenever a person wished to go on the warpath he fasted in order to obtain the necessary guarantees of success. An account of the powers granted by the spirit or spirits was then placed before the chief and if, in his opinion, they justified the undertaking, the man was permitted to go. If they were insufficient the chief expressed his disapproval and the contemplated undertaking had either to be given up or the man would be compelled to fast again for increased powers. There were a number of men who were unable to obtain the requisite powers. To them one of two alternatives was left open: they might either purchase sufficient powers to go on a warpath or they might volunteer to join a large warpath. A volunteer needed no special blessing. If he had one, it would certainly benefit him, but it was not necessary except as an additional precaution, for the leader of the war party (*dotcaⁿhuŋka*) was supposed to be blessed specifically with every element necessary for a successful undertaking. As the Winnebago express it, he was blessed "with a complete road." In a war leader's blessing, everything must be provided—sufficient food, a definite number of enemies to kill, the exact place where they are to be killed, the exact time when they are to be killed, the exact manner in which they are to be killed, the exact manner in which the participants are to return to their homes, the safe return of all participants, and an infinite number of other minor points. As a volunteer went at the request of another man, the latter, and not he, took upon himself entire responsibility and the chief dealt directly with him. The chief would, in such a case, be particularly careful to see that every life that was risked was amply safeguarded. Otherwise the war party would not be permitted to start. 721 555 701 [787]

A man may go on the warpath for two reasons: either to revenge a slain relative or in a general way because he thinks he has received sufficient power and wishes to obtain glory. If the incentive was revenge, he might pursue one of two methods. He might go to the shaman with offerings of tobacco and presents and tell him about the death of his relative and his desire for revenge; or he might take the matter in his own hand, fast, and after having stealthily prepared for the necessities of the warpath inform a friend and steal out with him in the middle of the night. Were he to take the first method, it would be the shaman who would fast and who would afterwards lead the party, taking along with him as many men as would follow him. 721 [628]

727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime 701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the 721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death [622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the 701 leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is [614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war [782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hok'i'ku*ⁿ, which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO SON

867 776 787 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[2] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[3] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

---

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (pe'tc) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

1tRadin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war 867
honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers 776
who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in 787
this world belong they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a [761]
person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing
the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, [593
your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are 727]
blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our 967
ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on 787

---

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters. [354]

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

867

●787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 627] be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 867 776 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 554 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

---

721 787 701 686 [622] [7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and sneaks out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by it a few lines later, a mourner, i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal foolhardiness of the war leader, might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 822 [9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquian.

[10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

735 [11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head[13] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating 554
any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

---

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [555]

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. [527

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, 262]
three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding
at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently 765
departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of con- 775
siderable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," 774
continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is
present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens 775
when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

867

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker 773
made it thus. 776

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean 867
if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore 756
people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some 867
plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities 787
of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with 756
this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

---

[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube squirts some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to. [753 755]

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines. [425]

867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 789 756 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 789 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that 867 754
purpose.

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, 867
he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a 584
harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the 832
medicine he gave her.

If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they 867
had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. 832
You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way.

Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person 867
to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause 789
them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests.

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on 867
to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering 789
for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through 787
your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps.

867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[28]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need
867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate
789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the
726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 577 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[29] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 525 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

[illegible] [28] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative [602] aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[29] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

CHAPTER X

SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

INTRODUCTION

756 [171] The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *warukʌ'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 754 [787] The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines: Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 250) and the black-earth medicine.

[788] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed. [789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Warukʌ'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wanaⁿicere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of warukʌ'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went 787
and found it was so.

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a num- 648
ber of other tribes were going along with them. As they were 789
making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the 796
various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during 726
their fasts.

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was 791
going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered 771—a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values.

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293-308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is [787] quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe.

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is 867 quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 787

> My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e. crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224
796 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wana"tce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wana"tce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726
787 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, 726 the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet 737 them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him.

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of 771 describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed [614 that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership 787] in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals.

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit 776 or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to 782 develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed 771 intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this

ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, 776
etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

Earthmaker. He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma^{n}una*, earthmaker; *waja^{n}gu^{n}zera*, he-who-makes-something; and *waxopi'ni xetera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became [756]
almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (*cf.* for instance, the *wak'djųk'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[1] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herecgunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the [781]
occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though
he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him [796
in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to 823]
represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

---

[1] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Guardian Spirits

776 In the concept of the guardian spirits we have a mixture of both the "mechanical" and the "contract" theories. The guardian spirits themselves are, to our mind, but the transformed localized spirits; in other words, the *genii loci*. They are supposed to protect the individual to whom they appear in the same way as the *genii loci* protected their precinct. While theoretically every Winnebago could have his own guardian spirit, there seems to have been a marked [428 424] tendency for certain guardian spirits to be inherited. This was so, not because there was any distinct development of the idea of inheritance, but because certain definite powers were associated with the spirits, like success in hunting, fishing, etc. In terms of everyday life this simply meant that a good hunter would try to make his sons and near relatives good hunters; in religious terminology it meant that a son was blessed by the same guardian spirit as the father. (Cf. the fasting experience on p. 293.)

The following fasting experiences will show clearly what powers are supposed to be possessed by the various guardian spirits. The attitude with which the faster approaches the ordeal clearly varies from that of childish playfulness to one of considerable religious intensity, always remembering that we are dealing with boys and girls before the adolescent stage. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that we are dealing with a stereotyped expression of life, reading as follows: "I am a successful hunter; I am a prominent warrior, etc.; and I am told that I have become such because I have done what my elders told me, have practiced these professions diligently, and made offerings to the spirits." Such a formula might be put in the mouth of the youthful faster, but it meant nothing until it was interpreted much later in terms of each man's experience in life.

[787] The youth's fasting experience is carefully tested by the elders, and if found wanting in any respect the youth has either to try again or give up.

The guardian spirit is not supposed to be in permanent attendance upon man. It is only when he is needed, in the crises of life, that he is brought into relation with man; and it is quite characteristic of the markedly materialistic basis of the belief that the spirit is only called into aid for the particular needs of the case.

PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES[1]

HOW WEGI'CEKA TRIED TO SEE EARTHMAKER[2]

Once there was a Winnebago whose name was Wegi'ceka. As soon 776 as he was grown up his father begged him to fast. The old man told 787 his son that Earthmaker, when he created this earth, made many 539 good spirits and that he put each one of them in control of powers with which they could bless human beings. Some he placed in control of war powers. If these spirits bless an individual, he will always be victorious on the warpath. Earthmaker told the human beings to fast for these powers and then they would be rich and powerful. Now, my son, if Earthmaker has put all these spirits in charge of something, he himself must be in charge of much more power. Thus the old man reasoned and the son thought the same. So he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. "I wonder what sort of blessings Earthmaker bestows on people," he thought to himself.

None of the spirits blessed Wegi'ceka during his fastings. He was always thinking of Earthmaker and asking him to bless him. Wegi'ceka made himself extremely "pitiable" and wept. He could not stop. "Perhaps I will be able to see Earthmaker if I weep," he thought to himself. "Indeed, if Earthmaker does not bless me I will die during my fast."

He fasted continuously without stopping. Verily, he fasted for Earthmaker. First he fasted for 4 nights, and then for 6 nights, and then for 8 nights, for 10, and finally for 12 nights. Yet he received no blessing of any kind. After fasting 12 nights he stopped and ate something. He kept fasting on until he had grown to be a fully developed man. Then he stopped and married and, accompanied by his wife, he moved away from his village to some uninhabited place. There he lived alone with his wife. There again he fasted and his wife helped him. As before, he tried to have Earthmaker bestow a blessing upon him. This time he made up

---

[1] Some religious experiences belonging to Winnebagoes well known to the tribe have been cast in a literary form and handed down from one generation to another. The literary mold in which they have been cast does not in the least interfere with their value as excellent examples of personal experiences, and for that reason I will include one of them here.

[2] Earthmaker is supposed never to bless any human being, but there are a number of accounts of individuals who tried without success, nevertheless, to have him bless them. What the people, however, meant by lack of success was not so much a total lack of success as an incomplete blessing. So, for instance, Wegi'ceka does really receive a name as a blessing from Earthmaker, and he has the right to call upon him afterwards in the same way as he calls upon other "guardian spirits." Earthmaker does not, however, appear to him in the way an ordinary spirit would—that is, he neither appears to him as a man nor in the form of a voice conferring some blessing, but as a flash of light.

776 his mind once and for all that if Earthmaker did not bless him he
787 would die during his fast. "It is true," he said to himself, "that no
539 one has ever heard of anyone being blessed by Earthmaker, but
nevertheless I will either obtain a blessing from him or die in the attempt."

As time passed on his wife gave birth to a male child. Then the man said, "We will offer up our son to Earthmaker," and the woman consented. So they sacrificed their son to Earthmaker. Then they placed the body of the child on a scaffold and wept bitterly. "Surely," he said to himself, "Earthmaker will bless us to-night." And indeed during the night he came to him. Wegi'ceka felt positive that it was he. He wore a soldier's uniform and a corked hat and he was pleasing to the sight. Wegi'ceka looked and wondered whether it was really Earthmaker. Then this person took a step forward toward Wegi'ceka. "Indeed it must be," he thought. Then he took another step in his direction and uttered something. Wegi'ceka looked and saw that it was not Earthmaker but a pigeon. The spirits had fooled him. His heart ached, but, undaunted, he again fasted, and after a while Earthmaker seemed to come to him and say, "Man, I bless you. For a long time you have wept and made yourself pitiable. I am indeed Earthmaker." When Wegi'ceka looked again he beheld something pleasing to the sight and he liked it. The clothing the man wore was pleasing and Wegi'ceka now felt certain that this person was Earthmaker. He looked at him again and it seemed to him as if Earthmaker was getting smaller and smaller, and as he looked for the fourth time he saw that he had been looking at a little bird all the time. Then his heart ached all the more, and he cried even more bitterly than before. Then for the third time Earthmaker blessed him and spoke to him. "You have tried to 'dream' of Earthmaker and you have worried yourself to death. Behold, I am Earthmaker and I will bless you and you will never be in want of anything. You will be able to understand the language spoken by strange tribes and you will never be wanting in the goods of life." Then he looked up for the first time, but when he saw the individual who had spoken to him he thought that there was something wrong. Soon he saw that the one who had spoken to him was a bird.

Then for the last time he tried to "dream" of Earthmaker. He did not eat anything and positively resolved to die if Earthmaker did not appear to him. He felt bad, for he thought that all the bad birds (spirits) were laughing at him.

He fasted, and soon Earthmaker, far above, heard his voice and said, "Wegi'ceka, you are weeping bitterly. For your sake, I will come to the earth." Then Earthmaker told Wegi'ceka that when he (Wegi'ceka) looked at him he would see a ray of light extending from

above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, 776
Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to 787
face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your 539
fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him.

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and 159
told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should 787
begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invul- 867
nerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you."

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep- 159
weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. 787
It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived 776
(when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[8] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits.

---

[8] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Herok'a, or Those-without-horns.

159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the
hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you
wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you
wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time."
My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost
village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that
these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at
all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

---

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Herok'a, or Those-who-cry-like-babies.

This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped 159 787 using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellowmen as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the [756] power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit- 159 shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that 756 the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman 775 sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. 156 That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should 756 have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. 156 Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[b] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body [795] is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

---

[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[b] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, [182] the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'sto k'ᵉinc'djaᵉe'dja rahi'jė?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ăro' hitcak'ăro' ha'gizewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you.[11] Thus we bless you. With life also we bless you." 776 756

ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[12]

159 787 [526] Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

---

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way 776
he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for 756
eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the
spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they 159
took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you 761
desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart.[10] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[11] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

---

[10] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[11] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aratcge'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. [153]
The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aratcge'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,"[illegible] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,"[illegible] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[755] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[illegible] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[illegible] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, 159 787
fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at
any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who
lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one 159
winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and 787
the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). 776
These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed 756
down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed).
That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

HOW T. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE[17]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my 614
clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had 778
nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when
on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had warbundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So 787
K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early 778
autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[18] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

---

[17] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[18] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[19] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[20] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'uⁿ'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 776 787 [775] I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[21] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

---

[19] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[20] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered [782] that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn [686] impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chance of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for their caution.

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living [776 775] among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to become reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or — and this would be the more common form — a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when 159
I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my 776
enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunder- 787
birds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever 726
I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in
thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, [795
nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to]
strangle me;[22] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had [789
to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[23]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A 825
bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the 776
warpath.

787
It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you.
Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of [224
tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. 782]
Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

---

[22] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[23] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

825
776 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my
787 honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this
[841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."[34]

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[35]

787
159
776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles,
[782] Wolf and Elk.[36] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

---

[114]
[34] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[35] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[36] These are the names of individuals.

like to have you put some food in your mouths."[37] "My niece, it is 787
good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have 159
thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has 776
blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[38] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wak'ai'tcū', the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

---

[37] The feast referred to here is the feast called [illegible] or faster's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to some informants, for the faster to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. [527 796]

[38] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. [425] That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-heir" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. [424] In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity this is what is really meant, namely, an indefinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic.

1;Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

787 159 776 have made yourself suffer very much[illegible] and my heart has been rent with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'aiⁿtcuⁿ spoke.[illegible] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down.[illegible] "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the warpath and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me. [726 782] If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

[illegible] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[illegible] This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'aiⁿtcuⁿ with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[illegible] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the 776
Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full
of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human
beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When
he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man,
in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and
again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on
him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief.
"Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and
the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our
council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council
lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As
long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions
on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will
bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are
the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without
giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker
has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to
you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you
and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way
they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make
offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum.
"This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum
holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You
must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must
take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will
never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget
me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for
782] me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you
ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for 159
war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control 787
of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received 776
all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first 159
victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. 787
He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening 776
of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun 726
directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what
he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A [727]
horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He [756]
doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After
a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had con- [778]
structed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

J. B.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the
787 leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived
there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree
where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle
that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the
night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone
[756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed
with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would
bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. 159
Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they 787
would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely 776
of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts 776
to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that 787
you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow!" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
775 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.[a]

Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

---

[a] This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787 of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153 other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154] the intensity of their "concentration."

Offerings and sacrifices.—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782 by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776 deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of *Wegi'ceka* a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

Prayers.—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

THE FOLKLORISTIC CONCEPTS

The concept of evil.—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776 what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postulate [812] the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil spirits, the *wazop'i'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained. One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you 796
(humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are 614
present I greet." 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this! The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782]
feathers, and food.

796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make
use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never
be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people
[824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the
plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain
life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing.
But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have
held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat
of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might
be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the
night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are
seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the
west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood.
By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what
[822] to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars
touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787 ●
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of 575
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 796
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[illegible]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

---

[illegible] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

796
575
539 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the [782] north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776 told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. 796
This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from 776
which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-soldiers, 787
who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers 575
in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed 539
a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE BUFFALO SPIRITS

796 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for
575 giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to
539 get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the
feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*maⁿwarup'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor
[787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he
was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

787

plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. 776
He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The 575
buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and 539
give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had [782]
given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the 776
attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we 575
will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while pre- 539
paring the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

Song 1 [533]

Nangura homa'ni hiwiiĕ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

Song 2

Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

Song 3

Kära Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

Dancing song

Hodja'noka trawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'na. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rĕ. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

Description of buffalo dance and its origin. Informant, member of 796
Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been 575
blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had
animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but [787] ●
since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting.
John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his
grandfather.

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose 796
dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just- 575
maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers 787
to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the
spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for.
They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come
after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e.,
spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child,
and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been
brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting
and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and
told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in
running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life.
I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in
turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and
food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail
and a flute.

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those 796
whom they want. 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people [203]
make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the
time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn
over on the other side.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE GRIZZLY BEAR

796

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was 575
given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the 787
grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason [562]
they never could participate in the dance. Different people received
different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads,
grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance
was placed a mound of earth called maⁿwarap'uru. The maⁿwarap'uru
is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross
representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to
the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he
scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both [782]
in the center and at the four points.

796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the maⁿwarap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the maⁿwarap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the maⁿwarap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the

The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Mananp'e'ra naⁿjiⁿwinʌ. 796
Soldiers get up. 614

II

Wajaⁿnijaⁿ tcexigi'ji naⁿjiⁿ'aⁿdjʌ. 533
Something difficult get ready. 539
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Mananp'e'ra newine'nʌⁿ hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Mananp'e'ra hi'jaⁿ wine'nʌⁿ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANGERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONAⁿK DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebokonaⁿk* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177 sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests 796^{x} who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of [554 the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is 776] preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun [857] all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance.

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*— 796^{x} This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every 786 performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his [787] trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[3]

---

[3] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the 796x
units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that 571
it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them.

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in 778
the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan
as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from [422]
various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. [787]
They were handed down from one generation to another in the same
family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter [428]
of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The
individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by 554
his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demon- 778
strated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start
on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, [721
from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this 527]
feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it.

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war- 796x
bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the 721
starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always 575
taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath.

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with [776]
success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and
the Night Spirits.

x 796 721 the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different 575 cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

[787] The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked [614] resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals [787] they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing [182 to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of 177] the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still [782] the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hōk'ixe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent after-614 wards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for 778 instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

776 787 782 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are twofold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 782 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including He'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and buckskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Mą'ųną, Earthmaker, Wajągų'zera, Creator, and Waxopį'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit. Mą'ųną is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajągų'zera is found only in rituals, and Waxop'įnį Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is 776 conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 291,* which is to be taken not as a myth [787] but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form.

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxōp'i'nį Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Herecgū'nįņa, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Herecgū'nįņa as Earthmaker's first [773] attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Herecgū'nįņa imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth.

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

Thunderbirds (Wak'ą'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely [775] reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is have predestined for us (we make).[38] Pitiable we are making ourselves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings from you). That we ask of you." 796x 539x

---

* Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 293-318, 1913.

Host's offering to Disease-giver.—"For you who live in the south, Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'xga thirsted himself to death[39] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[40] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[41] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djõbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Grandfather Djõbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djõbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga wherever they breathe.[42] 782 776

Host's offering to the Sun.—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djõbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and are finished then it will be time for us to eat.[67] Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

---

[38] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relative and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his own.

[39] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[40] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[41] Literally, "hot water."

[42] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djõbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. "Mani'na" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

First guest's address to the young people.—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[68] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwā'ronj.[69] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hit'e'nuŋk'e) sad.[70] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[71] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[72] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 ● [776] [789]

---

[67] Literally, "fast movements" in reference to the fast-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[68] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[69] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[70] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hit'e'nuŋk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Oto, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hit'e'nuŋk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[71] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[72] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunderbird clan.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[78] That it is 796x
good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she 539x
did the following: Up above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood 787 ●
whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine 789
and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hitʼç'nuŋk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted.

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hitʼç'nuŋk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). [778] They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[79] (Paint song.)

Host's third speech. "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I 796x
greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, 539x
but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[80] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that [776] exist, blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick.[81] However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness, 800

---

[78] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones." [776]

[79] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[80] I. e., Disease-giver.

[81] Cf. note 26, p. 467, for explanation of these words.

Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[57] by offering 796x
tobacco and a flute.[58] 539x

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[59]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ųxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

Host's fourth speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787 ●
of grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ųxga. So that he might know (be 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ųxga starved and thirsted himself to death[60] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[61] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hee'pge*.[62] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

---

[57] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [95]

[58] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the blessings of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[59] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[60] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[61] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[62] English equivalent unknown.

war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796x
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits?' he thought. 539x
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787●
birds that spoke were the *kawi'ęge*, *tcūnlji*, and *cį'k'ok'ok'*.[83] They 776
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens: I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish.' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *gi'ęge*,[84] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōbenąġįwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[85] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[86] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered; your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

---

[83] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[84] English equivalent unknown.

[85] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstasy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamans that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[86] The lodges of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

796x

in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, 539x I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you 787 ● see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[57] You will never be 776 in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as [782] many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.'

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. So he 796x said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives 539x and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djōbenągiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

THE FEAST

Host's speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[58] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[59] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about [782] to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle."[60]

---

[57] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[58] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[59] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that each guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[60] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

1tRadin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

Offering to Big Black Hawk.—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco." 539x 796x

Offering to Disease-giver.—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco." 776 782

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

Offering to the Sun.—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tcîwoit'ę'higa,[159] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tcîwoit'ę'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[160] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[161] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[162] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it. 539x 796x 787● 776

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our 539x 796x [424]

---

[159] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[160] What Tcîwoit'ę'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wadjunga'ga). [775]

[161] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[162] That is, become reincarnated.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

Feast to the Night Spirits

539x 776x Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The *feasters* are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are taken. [264] It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way—that is why they do this (recount their war exploits).

Acts of Those Who Have Been Crazed by the Night Spirits

539x 776x 786 As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[107] A religious frenzy comes over them.[108] All their clothes would be cast off, it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance around the lodge. All would sit waiting. They (those crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then these men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the *feaster* (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the *feaster* (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered—the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the *feasters* had done well.[109] However, not at *every feast* would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

---

[107] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.

[108] Literally, "holiness comes over him."

[109] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees them in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings. [787]

796x

ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan [792] feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles.

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers [787 scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The 776] host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to [788] use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in [782] the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them.

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle, O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, nevertheless, to have it pass around. 796x 539x

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful. 782

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker. [787] ●

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed by him. 796x 539x 787 776 At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you; with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. Heretofore I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. Those are the songs which we use at the end of our feast.

meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," 614
from *tconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as 551
re "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcaŋgᴇra* has been subjected
to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not 174
only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became 614
associated with the social groups, they were accompanied
by the specific associations clustering around these animals. 776
These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed
identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian 825
spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest [174]
degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked [784]
absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal [787]
"embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each
man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader
and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One
of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a cer-
574 tain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef
114 particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

121 trays his companions who had participated in a murder
*159 which he had planned and for which he got all the glory. The question of good and bad simply does not present itself to him, because the task he had set himself did not entail the passing of judgments but the giving of as an accurate account of his life as was possible for him to give.

It would be both incorrect and stupid to imagine that he was either morally blunted or unintelligent or that he did not have many of those half-mystical strivings that so many of us have. All his life, in fact, can be said to have been spent in the search of an experience which his marked non-suggestibility when a child prevented him from then obtaining. The fundamental religious experience of every member of the tribe to
[087] which he belonged was obtained in early youth. It consisted of fasting, of retiring at night to some lonely and inaccessible spot where one could commune undisturbed with the deities. Most youths got it. It was something of a disgrace not to. Yet he did not. In spite of his dishonestly persuading his father that he had been properly blessed, he never deluded himself about the matter. He always felt the stigma attached to his failure to experience what all the others had obtained, and in his inconsistent fashion he tried to find some substitute. When he finally got the experience he had been seeking, although it had come to him in the most devious and unexpected manner, he recognized it at once, was satisfied, and became a good man even from the normal Christian standpoint.

§1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I 159*
was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud [551]
spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are
about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordi- [787]
nary individual." These were the words he addressed
to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me.
As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed— [844]
as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I
obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I
would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then [787]
blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose
would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun,
make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

---

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his [114]
time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quota- [195]
tive, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will
be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related
tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the
ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural [916]
spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of
things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunting
[224] continually. The lodge in which we lived was covered
[342] with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we
would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters,
and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus
we would spend our time until the spring of the year
and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River
Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries.
When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the
same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco
and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[276] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I
probably used up more money in buying tobacco than
would have been the value of the berries had I eaten
them.

---

[789] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winnebago,
and probably among many other tribes, it was customary
[593] for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
for what was likely to happen;[1] to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach
them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[1] [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.1, Category 116 -- analyst]

Early Childhood

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. When the hunting season was open, I would begin to fast again. 159* [221] [222]

This was my life for a number of years. [787]

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony. [231] [492]

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us brothers would fast together. My father would indeed repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[3] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[4] Thus he would speak to us. 159* 785

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

---

[3] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces. [195]

[4] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability. [554]

*159 village and there she built me a small lodge in which I
787 and my elder brother were to remain whenever we had to fast through the whole night. At this fasting-place we used to play and before we were really able to spend a night at this particular place we moved away.

*159 After a time I passed from this stage of childhood
857 to another. I now began to use a bow and arrow and I spent my day at play, shooting arrows.

It was at about this time also that I found out that my mother had been told just before I was born that
[156] she was about to give birth to a child who would not be an ordinary being, and from then on I felt that I must be an uncommon person.

*159 At about the same time my elder sister married a very holy man. My parents gave her in marriage to him. He was a shaman and he thought a great deal of me.

[P. 4]

*159 Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he
755 came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and
[782] made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[1] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting
755 experience:

•787
756 At the very beginning those above taught me the follow-
[776] ing. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

---

[195] [1] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.

[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [782]

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall. [776]

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*
After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
●787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker[*] lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
[787] be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
[577] able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

---

[776] [*] Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

Fasting

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older brother and I would play around with them a great deal. We did this even although we were fasting at the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. Whenever our parents found out we got a scolding and so did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away from menstruating women, but we ourselves always sought them. 159* 785 [861] [841]

After a while some of the people living in the lodges moved away and we were left alone. They moved far ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law went out hunting and killed seventy deer between them, so that we had plenty of meat. 159* [224]

When the girls with whom I used to play moved away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back. We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder [787]●

---

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winnebago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was supposed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk. Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some 778 [825] [614]

There my elder

*159 789 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I [776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following [775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I [776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

---

778 [619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached [841] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason [562] the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

and long life; we bless you with the power of healing 159*
the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth. So go home and 780
eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you. As soon as the sun rises the war whoops will be given so that if you do not go home now you will be killed."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. I was told that if I did not care to do the bidding of one particular spirit, then some other would address me and repeat very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak alternately until the break of day. Then, just before sunrise, a man wearing a warrior's costume, would come and peep into the lodge. He would be a scout. I was told that when this happened, then I would surely believe that a war-party had come upon me. Soon another spirit would come and say, "Grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I will bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now for a war-party is about to rush upon you." If then I went home the war-whoops would be given just as the sun rose. The members of this war party would give the whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after *coup* had been counted upon me (*i.e.*, after I had been struck) they would say, "Now, grandson, we have acted thus in order to teach you. Thus shall you act. You have completed your fasting."

Thus would the spirits talk to me, I was told. Now
this war-party was really composed of spirits, spirits [776]
from the heaven and the earth. Indeed all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me.

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

from the spirits. But as he fasted he kept thinking to him- 159*
self, "Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits 787
and he put every one of them in control of something, so 539
people say. He himself must therefore be much more 776
powerful than all the others. As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier." So he thought. He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker. He thought to himself, "What kind of being is he?" As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, "Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is; not one of the spirits has he he even blessed. I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of." So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits. He could not stop. "From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge. If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die." So, to the utmost of his power, did he fast. He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker.

At first he fasted four days; then six; then eight; then ten and finally twelve days. After that he broke his fast. Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed. So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married.

He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out- 159*
of-the-way place. There they lived, he and his wife. 539

Here again he commenced to fast, his wife with him. 787
He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker. This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting. "Never has it been told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die."

776
*159 After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy.
•787 He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they
539 ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice
[782] their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

---

[769]
[614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never 159 *
be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the 776
languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, 787 ●
with everything do I bless you." But, from the very 539
first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird.

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. 159*
When I found myself alone I began to think that something 787
ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He
told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: [551]

My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be 159* 539
blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 787
[785]

*159 539 787 death; he made himself pitiable in their sight. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came. There they stood before him and said, "Human being, you have thirsted yourself to death and we are going to bless you for that reason. We who speak are the Night Spirits." They blessed him with life and with success on the warpath. Then he looked at them and said to himself, "I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits speaking to me?" Then he looked at them and he saw that they were small birds called heshepga. They had fooled him.

[785] Then once again was his heart sore. In despair he said, "Well, if I have to, I'll die fasting." So he fasted again and once again he rubbed charcoal on his face. For six nights he continued to fast. And then, once again, from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him and said, "Human being, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We feel sad on your account. With life and success on the warpath we bless you." Then he looked at them and again he wondered in his heart whether they really were the Night Spirits.[13] Indeed they were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. They were birds called the kawishge, chaxjin and shikokkok. They were fooling him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however, he said, "I don't care what happens; I am willing to die in order to get a blessing." So he thought to himself.

Then again he began fasting. He rubbed charcoal over

---

[776] [13] The Night Spirits were mythical spirits whose precise nature is never described in detail. They are supposed to cause darkness and the night. They possess a cane with which they strike those of their worshipers who are not properly attentive to their ceremonies.

his face again. Seven nights he fasted and once again from 159*
the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and 539
stood before him and said, "Nephew, we bless you. So long 787
have you been sad and so piteously have you cried to us [785]
that we bless you. No one did we ever bless before. Both in war and in life you shall be able to do as you wish." Then again he looked in their direction and thought to himself, "I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits?" But indeed they were not the Night Spirits They were the bluebird and the duck and as many as there were of them, their breasts were dark; as many as there were of them, they were bad. "O my! O my! How they abuse me," Jobenangiwinxga cried.

He had at first thought in his fastings that just to spite the spirits he would fast again but now he rubbed charcoal on his face and wept bitterly. Both hands contained tobacco, and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and, weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

Now indeed to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten 159*
nights did he fast. Finally the Night Spirits came after him. 539
"Human being, I have come after you." He followed the 787
spirits and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night 776
Spirit village they took him. In the village there was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. All the Night Spirits in control of the most powerful blessings were there. When he entered he had to wade through white feathers up to his knees. Many kettles and much food did he see in the lodge. On the outside a buffalo hide was stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then these spirits said to him, "Human being, without giving up, long have you suffered; your heart has indeed been sad. All of the spirits in this lodge have talked about what is to

* 159 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits.
539 This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains,
● 787 I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food.
776 Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the
lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village
of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many
war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that
you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food,
[782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants
offer to us, they all will come here to our creation
lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry
787 to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching
you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my
father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of
it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day
dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother
[577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was
going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I
was hungry and I also knew that on the following night
we were going to have a feast, and that we would have
to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that.
So I went home. When I got there I told my people
the story I had told my brother; that I had been
blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was
not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is
carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

Fasting

Just then my older brother came home and they ob- 159*
jected to his return for he had not been blessed. How- 787 ●
ever, he took some food and ate it.

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When 159*
he reached the age of puberty my father called him 785
aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was 554
his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order 787
to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable
in war. He wished him to become like one of those
Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him
that if he fasted he would really be holy and that
nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest
him; that he would live a very long life and that he
would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he
were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him [576]
and that they would be very careful how they addressed
him; first, because they really respected him and sec-
ondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry.
He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop,
for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who [776]
are likely to deceive a faster.

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-
they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and [778]
rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that
my father wished my brother to fast for it was the
place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill
lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-* [776]
babies. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows
and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in
this hill. My father had control of them and when ooo

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
•787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at
about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number
of different animals. My father possessed only one
arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing
around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he
finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he
walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which
fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of
times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and
[782] offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and
787 my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with
all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able
to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed
that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him
but that they were unable to overtake him and were
compelled to return back when my brother reached the
earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our
feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, 159 *
we were placed on one side of the main participants. 787
After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in [221]
order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. [224]
My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was
the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to [152]
continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In [785]
spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their
menstrual lodges [13] when I looked for them. My [865]
parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the
spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to [156]
appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

---

[13] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects [841]
in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the [778]
Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such. [785]

§7. *The Teachings of My Father*

*159 My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching
[867] us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake
[593] us up early in the morning and, seated around the fireplace, speak to us. The girls would be taught sepa-
[562] rately. Now this is what my father told me:

721
787

I

● *159 My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of
867 some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in
[785] which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our
grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the
[776] center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.
[372] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the
*159 war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion
776 upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of
867 life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles.
787 Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize
721 you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

---

[195] [14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant 159*
effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of 776
the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. What- 867
ever he says will come about. If you do not possess one 787 ●
of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, 721
you will be of no consequence socially and those around [626]
you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at
you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your 159*
homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit 867
land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from 761
happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to 785
fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along 787
a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had
fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may
not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you
to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the
spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life,
warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they [593]
distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters [727]
will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if
you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters
will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the
prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your
sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be
content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

---

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562] [721]

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
*159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
● 787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
*159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the blessings
of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.

*159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[735] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
body or part of the head.[16] When on some other occasion,

---

[16] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

787 159* 867 [765] [775] [577]

When on some other occasion such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble[17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

[721] [775]

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

II

159* 867 785 787

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

---

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown. [775]

*159 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food
867 you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these
785 things then some day when your children ask for food they
● 787 will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

*159 Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse
867 your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife
593 suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother
[562] Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing
[776] her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters
867 your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little
574 you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner
[577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have
867 anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him
888 there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with
[778] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

---

[574]
[576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, [778]
nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [785]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [796]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at [782]
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787 ●
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

*159 ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you. 756 If then you happen to be without work, all that you need ● 787 for your support they will give you. For as long a time as 867 you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some 778 power from those individuals who know the virtues and 824 powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed [776] by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your ooo own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

---

[19] [776] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your 159 *
children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to 756
cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine 867
bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to [782]
your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the [778]
power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why [773]
they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that [755]
we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, [787]
then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their [577]
future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 789 789 867 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. [776] The paint medicine is made from the blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 789 754 867 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might perhaps be well for you to learn something about this. There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

7;Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

*159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds
●787 and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths
[783] and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My
[829] father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill
many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four
[776] spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They
said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from.* They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

[782] So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these
[216] spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never
fasted over night.

§10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten 159*
deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who 796
had been selected as attendants then transferred these 726
deer to the place where the people always give their
feasts.

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at 159*
evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to 789●
the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast 796
was to be given I commenced to fast through the night 726
also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching [782]
you."

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to
be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying [782]
piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits.

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

726
*159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
●789 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
[346 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
[354 exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
[891 breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:

782
539
726

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who 159 *
were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the 796
ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a 726
war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people [534]
carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We
thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I [782]
again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we
were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins.
Four times did we make the circuit. Then we
passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159 *

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate 796
kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat 787 ●
first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our 726
plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a
holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained
many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished
out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was
to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and
began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces
and began telling me of the blessing he had received
from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits
had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder- [776]
birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke.

726
*159 Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and
796 placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eat-
● 787 ing as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For
quite some time I was not able to eat much.

*159 Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any
577 dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that
787 all the people around me were taking pity upon me.
Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In
doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished
something great and that I had risen greatly in women's
estimation. Even though I tried to render myself
pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all,
my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never
lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of
the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a
great man and that the women would regard me as a
great man.

§19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

*159 I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began
273 to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had
● 787 been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim
156 again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had
577 never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made
the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

*159 After that I began to claim that I had been blessed
156 by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I
577 was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent
787 giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I
775 was now living as a human being among men. Such
776 was my claim and people believed me.

000 Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

*159
755
[756] drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps I am really holy, after all, I thought.

*159
156
● 787 After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers even more, for now I was really convinced that I possessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Sometimes I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159
273
796 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine Dance was given and frequently I would knock people unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the vicinity of the camp.

[P.138]

§20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the 159* year. We used to sell the hindquarters and some- 224 times ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course [439] only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was [698] that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had 159* to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment 302 I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I al- 787 ways wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People 159* liked me very much on account of my long hair and I 541 was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there 648 learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild [526]

---

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded [773] as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occa- [522] sionally, blessing an individual.

§22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 I never married any woman permanently. I would
588 live with one for awhile, and then with another. Some-
837 times upon my return after an absence I would find my
temporary wife living with another man. This is the
way in which I acted.

*159 My father had brought me up and had encouraged
787 me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits
721 that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had
raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[38]
so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That
[626] was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so
that people should not be able to ridicule me. My
[867] father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my
grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told
me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts
and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to
721 me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not,
friend? We ought to try and obtain some external
emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear
feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

---

[554] [38] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a
slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second,
[301] touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor
to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

*159 stand up and he prayed to God. He asked God to
795 forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were
[157] sore and I could not see. They took me back to my
house and there they put a solution of the peyote in
my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night when I was asleep I dreamed that the
● [187] world had come to an end. Some people God took
while some belonged to the bad spirit. I belonged to
the bad spirit. Although I had become a peyote man
I had not as yet been baptized. That was why God
did not take me. All those who belonged to God were
marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when
I woke up, even although I had only dreamed it. I
felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and
have another peyote meeting soon. I could hardly
wait until I reached the place where the next meeting
was to take place. I immediately told the leader what
I wanted and asked him to baptize me and he baptized
me in the morning. After that I felt better.

*159 Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad
[464] work gang. I was still working when the time for the
midsummer celebration approached. I always went to
the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

*159 The old man was right in what he had told me. The
584 girl students returned in the summer. Shortly after
they returned, a man, a friend of mine, who had gone
around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married.
"Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have
been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do

WINNEBAGO BERDACHE

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

114 THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role
838 was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between
[177] this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha,
[171] Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are
equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

124 During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to
838 time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore,
[177] while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

[184] While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

838 It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on
this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit,
[787] at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed
[821] women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had
the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets
791 were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married
[588] other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society
toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache
[554] was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winne-
177 bago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it
838 was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This
[626] berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

5

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine-dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a compliment to attend a medicine dance, or the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious or-
796 ganization which the Judge likens to our
575 church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies each neophyte, and at that time go through with their high religious perform-
●[787] ances. The Judge says they have mesmerism

[P.60(A)]

[pp. 1-59 not processed]

97 & 98 [see category 116 - p210. Analyst]

796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had
them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the
purpose, in which all those allowed to witness
the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoining
[343] this house is a bark tent built in a conical
form as a steam house. They excavate a
hole in the ground, heat large stones in a
fire to a great heat, and then put them in
this hole, and cover them over and seat the
initiate over them. He is then covered
around with blankets so that none of the
steam may escape, after which water is
poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all
evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the
steaming process in some instances has
been repeated once or twice. He is then
blindfolded and led around the house. Presently
[534] the singers beat the drum, shake the
rattles, and commence singing a tune; then
commences the dance, which is joined in
by all present who wish to do so. The women
[562] are members of the medicine lodge as
well as the men, and they join in the songs
and in the dance. After the dancing is
done, or perhaps he may have stood in the
midst of it there is a suspension of all singing
[756] and dancing. Several medicine men
then advance towards the neophyte, pointing
their medicine bags at him, then drawing
them back. This advancing and receding
and ejaculating certain words calculated
to work up the mind of the novitiate into a
regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit
their medicine bags against his body, he
still being blindfolded and at the same time
uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P.60(B)]